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ABSTRACT

Recognizing that there are differences between values and preferences of Indian students from different tribes that should be taken into consideration by educators of Indian children, a survey of Montana Indian high school students was developed and conducted by Indian college students to assess: interests (likes and dislikes) in school; educational aspirations, expectations, plans and influence; behavior and/or preferences related to classes and teachers; and value orientations. A random selection of an equal number of boys and girls from each of the four high school classes from 6 rural schools resulted in 189 completed interviews from 69 Crow, 16 Cheyenne, 20 Arapaho, 10 Flathead, 16 Gros Ventre or Atsina, 24 Assiniboine, 7 Sioux, 4 Blackfeet, 3 other tribes, and 19 unidentified tribes. Findings included: Crow and Assiniboine students cared less for sports while showing a higher preference for academic subjects and had higher educational aspirations and expectations; Gros Ventre and Cheyenne tended to like sports and showed relatively lower educational expectations; mothers played an important role in the educational decision making process for all students. An apparent contradiction between findings was that students from tribes with relatively high educational aspirations and expectations reported low interaction with their counselors and teachers. Tribal differences in values and preferences should be an important consideration for those engaged in teaching Indian students. (RTS)

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# Variation in Educational Goals and Preferences, by Tribal Affiliation, of Indian Students

## from Six Schools in Rural Montana

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# VARIATION IN EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND PREFERENCES, BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION, OF INDIAN STUDENTS FROM SIX SCHOOLS IN RURAL MONTANA

Wayne L. Larson*

## INTRODUCTION

The literature on Indian Education and Indian values is replete with descriptions and typologies of Indian values as they relate to education.[1] Sometimes these descriptions are qualified by referring to regional groupings of Indians, e.g., Plains or Southwest Indians, but more frequently both Indian and non-Indian accounts, refer to Indian values as if there were a complex of ideas shared in common by all Indians. A few studies have concentrated on one or two tribes without attempting to generalize to all Indians, with respect to their values or norms.[2]

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[1] A popular version of Indian values versus non-Indian values has been copied and circulated widely. This version juxtaposes Indian and non-Indian values as opposites or opposite ends of a bipolar continuum.

[2] For examples see: Robert V. Dumont, Jr. and Murray L. Wax, "Cherokee School Society and the Intercultural Classroom," Human Organization 28 (Fall, 1969) 217-224; Stanton K. Tefft, "Anomy, Values and Culture Change Among Teen-age Indians: An Exploratory Study," Sociology of Education (Spring, 1967) 145-157 (Arapaho and Shoshone students); S. J. Bryde, "The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Denver, 1965.

The difficulty of determining the values of Indians was illustrated very clearly to this writer in a seminar in which Indian students were enrolled. Although there was considerable agreement on a few traditional values of the respective tribes these students represented, there was often considerable disagreement about the values and norms of contemporary Indian tribes or communities.

An examination of the literature on Indian culture and discussion with Indian students suggests that Indians have not been completely assimilated into the middle-class American culture, but identification of the precise values and norms of the contemporary Indian culture has not been accomplished for all Indians or for specific tribes. This is not too surprising when you consider first, the number of tribes and, second, the intermixing of Indians and non-Indians historically. The difficulty in identifying tribal values for a particular age grouping, e.g., high school students, is further complicated by differences in the communities and schools in which students from different tribes are enrolled. Because the literature on values and norms was not explicit on the expected differences between students from different tribes, a study was conducted to determine the extent of similarity and differences among students from different tribes enrolled in rural high schools in Montana. Given the uncertainty about the presence of a single complex of Indian values and norms, we expected that differences would be greater than similarities.

The study reported in this article is based on a survey developed and conducted by Indian students under the supervision of the author.[3] Several Indian students from Montana and one from Wyoming attended an evening seminar for one quarter on a pass-fail basis. The objectives of the seminar were to generate and share knowledge of Indian education, to share a sociological perspective in understanding the issues and problems brought up in the seminar about education in general and Indian education in particular and to develop an interview schedule to be used in a study of high school students. Previous work by the author utilized a questionnaire administered by teachers in the classroom. Thus, a final objective in this study was to compare the findings on identical questions from the two different studies in order to determine if similar results would be obtained.

As mentioned above, one of the difficulties encountered immediately was our inability to gain consensus on a set of statements reflecting values and norms of Indians. Our choices for common values focused on orientation or attitudes toward time, interpersonal relationships, social and community status, and patterns of authority and discipline. In addition to values or

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[3]I am indebted to the students for many of the ideas that went into the questionnaire, and to my graduate assistant, Don Lee, for his assistance in the study.

norms of respondents, we inquired about their likes and dislikes of their schools, preferences for classroom procedures, educational aspirations, expectations and plans including the amount of discussion of plans with counselors and teachers, influence on their educational plans and descriptions of "model" teachers.

Students from six schools were selected for interviewing. An official from each of the schools was asked to randomly select an equal proportion of Indian boys and girls from each of the four classes in high school. All schools had more than 20 percent Indian-student enrollment, and all were located in rural areas. Interviewers were asked to insure the anonymity of students by telling the student that the interviews would not be shared with teachers, and all material would be taken from the school each evening. Students were asked to identify their tribal affiliation. At least 10 tribes were identifed but only six tribes will be used in this analysis because of the relatively small sample size for some schools.[4] There were 189 completed interview schedules from the six schools. The breakdown by tribal affiliation includes 69 Crow, 16 Cheyenne, 20 Arapaho, 10 Flathead, 16 Gros Ventre or

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[4]Some of the tribes used in the analysis have 15 or less students. For these tribes considerable care must be used in interpretation and evaluation of findings because of extreme fluctuation in the percentage distribution if only one student changed a position on a response category. Therefore, differences of less than 10 percent will be ignored in these cases.

Atsina, 24 Assiniboine, 7 Sioux, 4 Blackfeet or Blackfoot, 3 other tribes and 19 students who did not identify their tribal affiliation.

## FINDINGS

The findings will be discussed in the following sections:

1. Interests (likes and dislikes) in school;
2. Educational aspirations, expectations, plans and influence;
3. Behavior and/or preferences related to classes and teachers;
4. Value orientations.

Findings will be discussed for responses by sex and school class of students however, these data will not appear in the tables in the interest of space and costs of printing.

### Interests in school:

The most important part of school for students in all tribes was sports.[5] Data in Table I indicate the lowest proportion liking sports most was observed for Crow and Assiniboine students, 35 and 38 percent respectively; the highest proportion for Cheyenne and Arapaho students. Classes and learning were the next most popular

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[5]Frequently throughout this paper, a study of teachers of Indian students will be referred to in order to contrast student findings with the opinions of teachers. This study was conducted one year after the study reported in this paper and included teachers from four high schools in Montana--two of the six schools in this study, and two from a previous study of Indian students. Teachers in this study indicated that Indian students also liked sports most.

TABLE 1

ACTIVITIES LIKED BEST IN SCHOOL BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| ACTIVITY LIKED BEST | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Sports | 35 | 53 | 69 | 50 | 43 | 38 | 44 |
| 2. Social activities | 13 | 27 | 06 | 10 | 00 | 05 | 11 |
| 3. Studies or learning | 19 | 07 | 13 | 10 | 21 | 24 | 17 |
| 4. Nothing | 04 | 07 | 00 | 10 | 07 | 09 | 05 |
| 5. Everything | 08 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 14 | 05 | 05 |
| 6. Friends in school | 13 | 00 | 13 | 10 | 00 | 09 | 09 |
| 7. Study hall | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 07 | 00 | 01 |
| 8. Other | 08 | 07 | 00 | 10 | 07 | 09 | 07 |
| Total % | 100 | 101 | 101 | 100 | 99 | 100 | 99 |
| Total N | (52) | (15) | (16) | (10) | (14) | (21) | (128) |
| No response | 17 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 27 |

activity. Males were more likely to mention sports than females (61 and 19 percent respectively); juniors and seniors were less likely than freshmen and sophomores to indicate sports (37 to 48 percent respectively).

Students were asked which of the classes that they liked best. The proportion of students (65 percent) who refused to answer this question or were undecided was very high. This question placed the student in the position of identifying teachers in small schools, and students in any school would probably react in the same way. Students from the Gros Ventre and Flathead tribes will be ignored in the discussion of the findings in Table 2 because of the low number of students answering the question.

Students showed a clear preference for English and mathematics classes, followed by business classes. Otherwise, preferences for classes were widely dispersed. Girls were more likely to select English (39 percent) and boys mathematics (27 percent); freshmen and sophomore students were more likely to select English (33 percent) whereas juniors and seniors select English (21 percent), mathematics (24 percent), and business (21 percent).

Educational aspirations, expectations, plans and influence:

Data on the educational aspirations and expectations of students by tribal affiliation are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 2

SCHOOL CLASSES LIKED BEST BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| CLASSES LIKED BEST | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Business | 09 | 29 | 29 | 00 | 00 | 11 | 15 |
| 2. English | 24 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 33 | 56 | 23 |
| 3. Home Economics | 09 | 00 | 14 | 00 | 33 | 00 | 08 |
| 4. Mathematics | 24 | 29 | 29 | 00 | 33 | 11 | 23 |
| 5. Mechanical Drawing & Shop | 00 | 00 | 14 | 00 | 00 | 11 | 04 |
| 6. Physical Education | 05 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 11 | 04 |
| 7. Science (natural & physical) | 05 | 29 | 14 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 08 |
| 8. Social Science and History | 14 | 14 | 00 | 100 | 00 | 00 | 10 |
| 9. Other | 09 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 04 |
| Total % | 99 | 101 | 100 | 100 | 99 | 100 | 99 |
| Total N | (21) | (7) | (7) | (1) | (3) | (9) | (48) |
| No response | 48 | 9 | 13 | 9 | 13 | 15 | 107 |

TABLE 3

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS

| LEVEL OF ASPIRATION | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Quit high school | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 07 | 00 | 01 |
| 2. Graduate from high school | 08 | 07 | 05 | 22 | 13 | 09 | 09 |
| 3. Business or commercial | 11 | 21 | 05 | 00 | 07 | 09 | 09 |
| 4. Technical school | 01 | 00 | 25 | 11 | 00 | 00 | 05 |
| 5. Attend Jr. college | 03 | 00 | 10 | 00 | 07 | 13 | 05 |
| 6. Graduate from Jr. college | 05 | 07 | 00 | 00 | 07 | 09 | 05 |
| 7. Attend college or university | 14 | 00 | 30 | 11 | 07 | 04 | 12 |
| 8. Graduate from college or university | 51 | 64 | 20 | 56 | 47 | 52 | 48 |
| 9. M.S. or Ph.D. | 08 | 00 | 05 | 00 | 07 | 04 | 05 |
| Total % | 101 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 104 | 100 | 99 |
| Total N | (66) | (14) | (20) | (9) | (15) | (23) | (147) |
| No response | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 |

TABLE 4

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| LEVEL OF EXPECTATION | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Quit high school | 00 | 56 | 15 | 22 | 25 | 13 | 12 |
| 2. Graduate from high school | 08 | 11 | 00 | 00 | 08 | 13 | 07 |
| 3. Business or commercial | 10 | 00 | 05 | 11 | 00 | 06 | 07 |
| 4. Technical school | 02 | 00 | 25 | 00 | 00 | 06 | 05 |
| 5. Attend Jr. college | 03 | 00 | 25 | 00 | 08 | 25 | 09 |
| 6. Graduate from Jr. college | 03 | 00 | 15 | 22 | 33 | 06 | 09 |
| 7. Attend college or university | 29 | 33 | 15 | 44 | 17 | 25 | 27 |
| 8. Graduate from college or university | 39 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 08 | 06 | 21 |
| 9. M.S. or Ph.D. | 05 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| Total % | 99 | 100 | 100 | 99 | 99 | 100 | 99 |
| Total N | (61) | (9) | (20) | (9) | (12) | (16) | (127) |
| No response | 8 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 28 |

Very few students (eight) aspired to education beyond four years of college; Arapaho students had the lowest proportion (20 percent) aspiring to a four year degree. For students from all tribes, the average proportion aspiring to a four year college degree was 48 percent. Girls had higher educational aspirations than boys, and juniors and seniors had higher educational aspirations than freshmen and sophomores.[6] Although these levels of aspiration appear relatively high, they are similar to findings from studies of minority students in different parts of the United States. The data reflect what students would like to achieve rather than what they expect to achieve. When we asked students to indicate the level of education they expected to achieve the level of educational expectation dropped from one to three levels depending on the tribe.

There were 8 students who aspired to an M.S. of Ph.D. but only three who expected to reach that level; 72 students who aspired to a four year college degree but only 26 who expected to reach that level of education. As examination of responses on educational expectations by sex and class in school demonstrated a pattern similar to that for educational aspirations, i.e., girls had higher educational expectations than boys, and juniors and seniors had higher expectations than freshmen and sophomores.

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[6]This may reflect, at least partially, attrition of low-aspiration or ability students in high school, i.e., drop out rates are lower in the last two years of school.

It appears that Crow students have higher educational aspirations and expectations than students from other tribes (using four years of college or higher as the cut-off point) and that they like those classes (English and mathematics) which are most important for post-secondary education. These data suggest that the differences may be as great as the similarities between tribes.

Senior students were asked if they had made any plans for education after high school. The findings are reported in Table 5.

TABLE 5

EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF SENIOR STUDENTS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| PLANS | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Yes - made plans | 74 | 33 | 75 | 40 | 67 | 64 | 65 |
| 2. No - no plans | 26 | 67 | 25 | 60 | 33 | 36 | 35 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | (19) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (11) | (48) |
| No response | 50 | 13 | 16 | 5 | 10 | 13 | 107 |

A majority of students from the Crow, Arapaho, Gros Ventre and Assiniboine tribes said they had made plans, whereas less than a majority of students from the Flathead and Cheyenne tribes had made plans. A breakdown by sex of senior students revealed slight differences in the proportions of students who had made plans; girls were much more likely to have made plans than boys, 91 to 60 percent respectively.

Students were asked if they had discussed their educational plans with counselors and teachers. The responses about discussion of educational plans with counselors and teachers is reported in Table 6. There was a high proportion of "no discussion" with counselors for Crow and Gros Ventre students. However, more than one-half of the other students who had discussed plans, discussed their plans at least once with a counselor.

Students had on the average discussed their plans once or twice with teachers. Thus, the data in Table 6 indicate a relatively low amount of discussion with teachers, i.e., approximately one-third had discussed their plans with teachers (58 of 155), and of that one-third most had discussed their plans only once or twice. An examination of amount of discussion by sex and class in school accounts for some of the variation in discussion. There was a higher proportion of males and junior-senior students who had discussed plans, but more frequent discussion by freshmen and sophomores who had discussed plans.

TABLE 6

DISCUSSION OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS WITH COUNSELORS AND TEACHERS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| AMOUNT OF DISCUSSION (COUNSELORS) | Discussion with Counselors | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. None | 54 | 31 | 28 | 13 | 67 | 35 | 44 |
| 2. Once-twice | 29 | 54 | 44 | 50 | 07 | 45 | 35 |
| 3. Three-four times | 13 | 15 | 17 | 25 | 20 | 15 | 16 |
| 4. Five or more times | 03 | 00 | 11 | 13 | 07 | 05 | 05 |
| Total % | 99 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 101 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | (61) | (13) | (18) | (8) | (15) | (20) | (135) |
| No response | 8 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 20 |
| FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSION (TEACHERS) | Discussion with Teachers | | | | | | |
| 1. Once-twice | 86 | 70 | 50 | 80 | 43 | 63 | 71 |
| 2. Three-four times | 14 | 20 | 00 | 20 | 43 | 13 | 17 |
| 3. Five or more times | 00 | 10 | 50 | 00 | 14 | 25 | 12 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 |
| Total N | (22) | (10) | (6) | (5) | (7) | (8) | (58) |
| No response | 47 | 6 | 14 | 5 | 9 | 16 | 97 |

For those students who had indicated they had discussed their educational plans with teachers, we asked them to indicate the subject that teacher taught. A very large majority mentioned only one teacher.[7] The findings reported in Table 7 show that the subject taught most frequently by teachers with whom students had discussed their plans was English; 42 percent of the responses. Mathematics and business were mentioned by approximately 10 percent of the students. Arapaho, Crow and Cheyenne students were most likely to mention English teachers. A discussion of these findings is presented elsewhere.[8]

In addition to such indirect influences from discussion of plans with teachers, we asked students to indicate who had influenced their educational plans the most. In the traditional Indian community or tribe, patterns of influence depended on the kinship

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[7] First mentioned teachers will be discussed. Very few mentioned two teachers.

[8] These findings are very similar to the findings from a study of Indian and non-Indian students in 4 high schools in Montana. In that study, 47 percent of the Indian students mentioned English teachers. For an interpretation and evaluation of those findings see: Wayne L. Larson, "Discussion of Educational Plans with Teachers by Indian and Non-Indian High School Students and Type of Subject Taught by Teachers," Bozeman: Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Montana State University, Bulletin 661, February 1972. Although the findings are consistent with findings in other studies, they should be interpreted with extreme caution for students from a particular tribe because of the number of students, with the exception of Crow students.

TABLE 7

SUBJECT TAUGHT BY TEACHER WITH WHOM STUDENT HAD DISCUSSED EDUCATIONAL PLANS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| SUBJECT | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Business or Typing | 17 | 00 | 00 | 20 | 00 | 00 | 09 |
| 2. English | 57 | 44 | 67 | 20 | 29 | 00 | 42 |
| 3. Home Economics | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 14 | 00 | 02 |
| 4. Mathematics | 04 | 11 | 17 | 20 | 00 | 43 | 12 |
| 5. Mechanical Drawing or Shop | 04 | 00 | 00 | 20 | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| 6. Physical Education | 00 | 11 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| 7. Science (natural or physical) | 04 | 00 | 17 | 20 | 00 | 14 | 07 |
| 8. Social Science or History | 09 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 14 | 05 |
| 9. Other | 04 | 33 | 00 | 00 | 57 | 29 | 17 |
| Total % | 99 | 99 | 101 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 |
| Total N | (23) | (9) | (6) | (5) | (7) | (7) | (57) |
| No response | 46 | 7 | 14 | 5 | 9 | 17 | 98 |

structure. Consequently, if the traditions of the past are operative, one might expect that influences on children would be more widely dispersed among kin, e.g., aunts and uncles, or grandparents, for Indian than non-Indian students. The data in Table 8 do not support this expectation. Rather they show that mother and father are very influential in the perceptions of students. This is consistent with findings from most of the literature on educational influence with which the author is familiar. Mothers had the most influence in all tribes with the exception of the Assiniboine. Fathers had the least influence for Flathead and Cheyenne students. With respect to other kin, the Arapaho students were the only students to check "grandparents" a significant number of times (29 percent). Teachers and counselors were mentioned very infrequently, an average of once per tribe. This finding is also similar to results on influence patterns reported in the literature for non-Indian students in rural areas of the United States. Thus, with the exception of fathers' relatively low influence for two tribes, the results are similar to those from other studies on this subject. Fathers' relatively low influence may be the result of relatively lower family income, education, and occupational prestige for male heads of households in Montana. Studies by Larson have indicated that father's influence is greater

TABLE 8

PERSONS WITH INFLUENCE ON EDUCATIONAL GOALS OF STUDENTS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| PERSON WITH MOST INFLUENCE | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Father | 33 | 08 | 29 | 00 | 33 | 45 | 29 |
| 2. Mother | 44 | 69 | 43 | 33 | 33 | 35 | 43 |
| 3. Brother(s), sister(s) | 07 | 08 | 00 | 33 | 07 | 10 | 08 |
| 4. Friends in or out of school | 07 | 15 | 00 | 00 | 07 | 00 | 05 |
| 5. Aunts & uncles | 02 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| 6. Cousins | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 |
| 7. Teachers or counselors | 02 | 00 | 00 | 22 | 13 | 05 | 05 |
| 8. Grandparents | 03 | 00 | 29 | 00 | 07 | 05 | 06 |
| 9. Another person | 03 | 00 | 00 | 11 | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| Total % | 101 | 100 | 101 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 99 |
| Total N | (61) | (13) | (14) | (9) | (15) | (20) | (132) |
| No response | 8 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 23 |

for fathers classified as high-income fathers.[9] However, a measure of income was not used in this study because students and advisor thought it would affect the attitude toward interviewers and toward the study because of its high level of sensitivity.

Juniors and seniors were more likely to select fathers as most influential than freshmen or sophomores, 38 and 20 percent respectively. This may also be a reflection of differences in family income for those students remaining in school until the junior or senior year. It is also possible that students reaching the age in which educational decision making becomes more immediate rely more heavily on fathers' advice. Differences in identification of the most influential person with respect to educational plans by sex of students was minimal, i.e., mothers were chosen more frequently by both boys and girls, and other kin and teachers or counselor received very few choices. However, girls were more likely to choose mothers than fathers as having the most influence on their plans. Freshmen and sophomores were also more likely to choose mothers than juniors and seniors. Again, this could be the result

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[9] For a discussion of these findings see: Wayne L. Larson, "A Comparative Analysis of Indian and Non-Indian Parents' Influence on Educational Aspirations, Expectations, Preferences and Behavior of Indian and Non-Indian High School Students in Four High Schools," Bozeman: Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Montana State University, Bulletin 660, October 1971, p.12. Also see: Wayne L. Larson, "The Relationship Between Values and Educational Choices of High School Students," Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington State University, 1968.

of income differences mentioned above, or less independence from mothers in this age group.

Opinions and preferences related to classes and teachers:

Students were asked the question: "How do you feel about answering questions in the classroom?" The findings from this question are reported in Table 9. With the exception of Crow students, the most popular answer was to volunteer to answer questions whenever the teacher asked a question, especially for students who were from the Flathead or Assiniboine tribes. Very few students seem to be concerned with the plight of the student who couldn't or didn't want to answer a question asked by the teacher.[10] Only five percent of the students indicated they would volunteer to answer a question addressed to another student in order to save him embarrassment or shame. We also asked them if they thought they should be forced to participate in classroom discussions or question and answer periods.[11] The data in Table 10 indicate that a large

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[10] See Robert V. Dumont, Jr. and Murray L. Wax, "Cherokee School Society and the Intercultural Classroom," Human Organization, 28 (Fall, 1969) pp. 223-224. The authors observed this phenomenon in the classroom, whereas, these data are the perceptions of students, therefore the studies are not strictly comparable.

[11] Several students suggested that forcing students to participate would violate the value of "non-interference" in the ways of the other person in the relations between people. The term "forced" should not be interpreted as the expectation of student participation by all students but "pushing" students to respond when addressed with a question.

TABLE 9

PREFERENCES ABOUT ANSWERING QUESTIONS
IN CLASS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| PREFERENCES ABOUT ANSWERING QUESTIONS | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Quick to volunteer | 15 | 31 | 30 | 50 | 37 | 63 | 30 |
| 2. Answer only if asked | 49 | 25 | 25 | 40 | 25 | 04 | 33 |
| 3. Let other students answer | 10 | 06 | 05 | 00 | 19 | 21 | 11 |
| 4. Wait on others to answer | 23 | 25 | 35 | 10 | 19 | 04 | 21 |
| 5. Answer only to save a friend | 03 | 13 | 05 | 00 | 00 | 08 | 05 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | (69) | (16) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (24) | (155) |
| No response | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

majority of students feel that students should not be forced to participate in the classroom. Crow and Arapaho students were least likely, and Cheyenne students were most likely to reject forced participation. There were no major differences by sex or class in school on these two questions.

TABLE 10

STUDENTS FEELINGS ABOUT BEING FORCED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CLASSROOM BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| FEELINGS ABOUT PARTICIPATION | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Yes-should be forced | 25 | 00 | 35 | 10 | 19 | 08 | 19 |
| 2. No-should not be forced | 58 | 94 | 55 | 70 | 81 | 92 | 70 |
| 3. No opinion | 12 | 07 | 10 | 20 | 00 | 00 | 11 |
| Total % | 95 | 101 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | (69) | (16) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (24) | (155) |
| No response | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

We discussed the styles of teaching that would be most desired and/or most effective in teaching Indian high school students in our seminar. Most students including the instructor believed that an "authoritarian" style would be least effective but we were not sure which type of procedure by the teacher would be the most desirable from the point of view of the student. A question was designed to elicit the students' preferences; five possible responses were used. They are presented in Table 11 with our findings.

A class without lectures was not preferred by any students, and the teacher who lectured all of the time was rejected. The most popular or preferred procedure was "lectures and discussion." Cheyenne and Arapaho students were more likely than other students to prefer a lecturer who required note-taking by students--a traditional concept in education; this is consistent with their feelings about participation. Gros Ventre and Crow students appear to prefer working independently more so than other students as indicated by the response pattern by tribe in response number five. The responses to this question suggest that these students are like students with whom the author has discussed preferences about style of teaching, and are also similar to responses on evaluation sheets, i.e., there is "no one best way" to present material or achieve an optimum

TABLE 11

PREFERENCES ABOUT CLASSROOM
PROCEDURES BY TEACHER BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| CLASSROOM PROCEDURES PREFERRED | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Lecture only | 01 | 13 | 00 | 00 | 13 | 08 | 05 |
| 2. Lecture - take notes | 19 | 31 | 50 | 20 | 00 | 17 | 22 |
| 3. Lecture half the time - discussion | 42 | 06 | 20 | 40 | 44 | 50 | 37 |
| 4. Discussion for most of the period | 06 | 31 | 10 | 20 | 00 | 13 | 10 |
| 5. Lecture - work on own | 32 | 19 | 20 | 20 | 44 | 13 | 27 |
| 6. Never lectures | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 |
| Total % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 101 | 101 |
| Total N | (69) | (16) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (24) | (155) |
| No response | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

learning environment.[12] It is clear, however, that lecturing is not the best approach when it is the only approach used, and second, that these students do want some structure to classroom procedures.

In addition to asking students about their preferences for classes and participation, we asked them some questions about their relationships with teachers. The literature on Indian education alludes to some prejudice and discrimination on the part of teachers of Indian students. On the basis of that literature and previous work of the author, we expected these Indian students to report relatively less amicable relationships with teachers. For example, one study of teachers in the same state indicated that teachers do feel differently about Indian students in some respects.[13] Consequently we expected negative relationships for some Indian students but questioned whether this would exist for all tribes. The data in Table 12 include two questions designed to tap student-teacher

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[12] This appears to be such an obvious conclusion but high schools and colleges continue to operate as if students were cut from the same mold. In all fairness, it should be pointed out that standardization of technique is least costly, and may even be optimal from a cost-benefit point of view, but not from a humanistic perspective.

[13] Thirty-one percent of the teachers indicated that Indian students felt that school was a "waste of time," whereas none of them said this about non-Indian students, and 25 percent said they frequently did not understand Indian students, or did not understand them at all, as compared to 6 percent who said that about non-Indian students. This data has not been published but is available upon request. Also see footnote 8, Bulletin 661.

TABLE 12

STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS

| TEACHERS UNDERSTAND FEELINGS (Question #1) | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Very well | 01 | 06 | 05 | 10 | 00 | 04 | 03 |
| 2. Pretty well | 41 | 37 | 45 | 60 | 37 | 42 | 42 |
| 3. Not very well | 54 | 44 | 40 | 30 | 44 | 42 | 47 |
| 4. Not at all | 03 | 13 | 10 | 00 | 19 | 13 | 08 |
| Total % | 99 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 |
| Total N | (68) | (16) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (24) | (154) |
| No response | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| TEACHERS MAKE STUDENTS ANGRY (Question #2) | | | | | | | |
| 1. Many times | 04 | 19 | 05 | 20 | 13 | 13 | 09 |
| 2. Quite a few times | 18 | 19 | 10 | 20 | 06 | 50 | 21 |
| 3. Sometimes | 51 | 19 | 55 | 40 | 63 | 29 | 45 |
| 4. Hardly ever | 27 | 31 | 30 | 20 | 19 | 08 | 23 |
| 5. Never | 00 | 13 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| Total % | 100 | 101 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 | 99 |
| Total N | (68) | (16) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (24) | (154) |
| No response | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

relationships as perceived by students. The first question is: "Do teachers understand your feelings?", and the second question is: "Do teachers sometimes say things to make you angry?".

With the exception of students from the Flathead and Arapaho tribes (the latter is split 50-50 on this question), a slight majority of students indicated that teachers did not understand their feelings very well. The perceived lack of understanding was most priminent for Gros Ventre students; 19 percent of them indicated that teachers understanding fell into the category of "not at all," and none of them checked the category "very well." These findings are consistent with previous findings about teachers of Indian students, i.e., teachers may like them and treat them fairly but do not understand them as well as they do non-Indian students, a fact which teachers of Indian students admit.[14] Girls were slightly more likely than boys to feel that teachers did not understand their feelings, and freshmen and sophomores more than juniors and seniors, 63 to 42 percent when the categories of "not very well" and "not at all" were combined. Responses to the second question suggest the most positive relationships exist for students from the Cheyenne tribe and the least positive for the Assiniboine students.[15] A comparison of the response pattern to the two questions

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[14] Ibid, see last phrase in first sentence.

[15] This inference is based on comparing the responses between tribes for the proportion of students checking "hardly ever" or "never" for positive relationships, and "many times" and "quite a few times" for negative relationships.

suggests that "being angry at teachers" is not necessarily closely related to a lack of understanding on the part of teachers. Very minor differences in responses by sex and class in school were reported on the second question.

Finally, we asked the students to complete two statements: "A good teacher is _____." and "A bad teacher is _____." From examining the data in Table 13 we conclude that a "good" teacher for Indian students is one who:

1. is willing to help students, and understands the position of the student;
2. is an expert in the subject taught; and
3. treats the student as an individual with unique characteristics and aspirations rather than treating them as members of a class.

It is interesting that very few students used "fair and unbiased" in their descriptions of a "good" teacher, an important behavioral trait quite frequently mentioned by college students.[16] No significant differences in the description of "good" and "bad" teachers were observed in the breakdown by sex and class in school.

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[16] The basis for this contrast includes discussions with many students, examination of evaluation sheets, and a study conducted in research methods classes in which students from several large survey classes indicated their expectations about the role of teachers. In the latter source, all three of the characteristics of good teachers mentioned by Indian students were given high priority.

TABLE 13

STUDENTS EXPECTATIONS ABOUT
"GOOD" AND "BAD" TEACHERS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| EXPECTATIONS ABOUT "GOOD" TEACHERS | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Expert in subject | 20 | 33 | 25 | 10 | 25 | 26 | 23 |
| 2. Helping and understanding | 39 | 33 | 25 | 50 | 25 | 32 | 35 |
| 3. Concern for student as person | 13 | 00 | 15 | 30 | 13 | 05 | 12 |
| 4. Permits questions and listens | 03 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 06 | 05 | 03 |
| 5. Fair, unbiased | 02 | 00 | 05 | 00 | 13 | 05 | 03 |
| 6. Innovative | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 |
| 7. Facetious remark [a] | 02 | 08 | 00 | 10 | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| 8. High expectations | 13 | 00 | 10 | 00 | 00 | 11 | 09 |
| 9. Other | 09 | 25 | 20 | 00 | 19 | 16 | 13 |
| Total % | 101 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | (64) | (12) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (19) | (141) |
| No response | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 14 |

[a] A negative statement about teachers, e.g., "A good teacher is a dead teacher."

TABLE 13 Continued

| EXPECTATIONS ABOUT "BAD" TEACHERS | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Lectures, no explanation | 11 | 17 | 05 | 00 | 25 | 21 | 13 |
| 2. No help or understanding | 27 | 08 | 25 | 30 | 25 | 21 | 24 |
| 3. Lack of control | 08 | 00 | 15 | 00 | 06 | 00 | 06 |
| 4. Doesn't care about students, won't listen | 11 | 08 | 05 | 50 | 06 | 16 | 13 |
| 5. Biased or prejudiced | 06 | 08 | 00 | 00 | 13 | 00 | 05 |
| 6. Hyper-critical | 03 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 05 | 02 |
| 7. Dogmatic | 03 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 06 | 05 | 03 |
| 8. Unkind or too much discipline | 11 | 08 | 10 | 00 | 06 | 17 | 10 |
| 9. Other | 19 | 50 | 40 | 20 | 13 | 17 | 24 |
| Total % | 99 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 102 | 100 |
| Total N | (63) | (12) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (19) | (140) |
| No response | 6 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 15 |

These Indian students, with the exception discussed above, appear to be no different than most students in high school and college in their expectations about a "good" teacher.

A "bad" teacher in the eyes of the students was one who:

1. doesn't understand the student's needs;
2. doesn't take time to explain things in class; and
3. doesn't care enough about students to listen to their point of view.

Other comments on "bad" teachers by these students included comments about a drunk teacher, a teacher who hates Indians, and one facetious, but probably serious remark, "A good teacher is a dead teacher."

Values:

A final set of questions included three items on which there was some agreement. These items or statements reflected either the Indian way of viewing things, i.e., acceptance or rejection of an idea or way of behaving. The items were as follows:

A. Orientation toward time: When you plan to be at a certain place at a certain time, do you: (check one)
   1. keep the appointment
   2. keep the appointment but usually late
   3. usually keep the appointment but sometimes don't show
   4. keep the appointment about half the time
   5. miss the appointment, because you can make an appointment for another time

B. Orientation toward planning: I think a person should live for today and not worry too much about tomorrow.

C. Orientation toward success and achievement: I think that a person should work hard at school so that someday he (she) can get a good job.

Students could agree or disagree to the last two statements (B and C) on a five point scale from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree." The percentage distribution on these three statements are presented in Table 14.

An examination of the mean scores (and reversing the scoring on item B) indicates the following ranking on the three items in terms of our indicators of assimilation for the dominant values of the

TABLE 14

VALUE-ORIENTATION OF STUDENTS BY TRIBAL AFFILIATION

| FEELINGS ABOUT WORK & SUCCESS | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Strongly agree | 50 | 37 | 65 | 60 | 31 | 63 | 51 |
| 2. Agree | 46 | 56 | 35 | 40 | 56 | 17 | 42 |
| 3. Neither agree or disagree | 03 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 13 | 21 | 06 |
| 4. Disagree | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 |
| 5. Strongly disagree | 01 | 06 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| Total % | 100 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 |
| Total N | (68) | (16) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (24) | (154) |
| No response | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

TABLE 14 Continued

| FEELINGS ABOUT TIME - "LIVE FOR TODAY" | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Strongly agree | 04 | 13 | 10 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 05 |
| 2. Agree | 15 | 31 | 40 | 10 | 31 | 21 | 22 |
| 3. Neither agree or disagree | 27 | 19 | 10 | 20 | 31 | 17 | 22 |
| 4. Disagree | 40 | 31 | 35 | 40 | 25 | 46 | 38 |
| 5. Strongly disagree | 15 | 06 | 05 | 30 | 13 | 17 | 14 |
| Total % | 101 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 101 |
| Total N | (68) | (16) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (24) | (154) |
| No response | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

non-Indian culture; the highest degree of assimilation exists for the Flathead followed in order by Assiniboine, Crow, Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Cheyenne. Using different ways of ranking did not affect the ordering on a scale of low and high, i.e., Cheyenne, Gros Ventre and Arapaho would be considered the least assimilated, and Crow, Assiniboine, and Flathead students would be the most assimilated.

There were very few differences between boys and girls in their responses to the question on punctuality, but juniors and seniors

TABLE 14 Continued

| FEELINGS ABOUT KEEPING APPOINTMENTS | CROW | CHEYENNE | ARAPAHO | FLAT-HEAD | GROS VENTRE | ASSINI-BOINE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1. Keep appointments | 46 | 37 | 55 | 80 | 63 | 63 | 53 |
| 2. Keep appointments but late | 17 | 25 | 20 | 00 | 06 | 04 | 14 |
| 3. Usually keep appointments, forget sometimes | 12 | 06 | 05 | 10 | 06 | 21 | 11 |
| 4. Keep it about half the time | 19 | 06 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 04 | 10 |
| 5. Not necessary to keep it, can make it some other time | 06 | 25 | 20 | 10 | 25 | 08 | 12 |
| Total % | 100 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Total N | (69) | (16) | (20) | (10) | (16) | (24) | (155) |
| No response | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

reported they were more likely to keep appointments than freshman and sophomores, 64 to 45 percent respectively. Selectivity due to attrition from school may account for the latter difference, i.e., those who remain are those who have been socialized more effectively into the dominant and non-Indian culture. Students' contentions (the proportion reporting lateness for appointments or absenteeism) supports the contentions of teachers that absenteeism and tardiness is a more serious problem in school than any other problem.[17]

On question B (live for today) males were more likely than females, and freshmen and sophomores more likely than juniors and seniors to agree with the statement, means of 3.21 to 3.50 by sex, and 3.17 to 3.49 by class in school. Males and juniors and seniors were more likely to agree with the statement on hard work and jobs (item C) but the differences were minimal for class in school. There was little disagreement with this statement which indicates one of two things: success and achievement are in fact desirable ideas in all tribes through the medium of school or it would be considered sacrilegious to disagree with the value this item represents.

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[17] About half of the teachers in that study indicated absenteeism and tardiness were serious problems for Indian students, but only 6 percent of the teachers said that for non-Indian students. Unfortunately, there is no data on which the responses of non-Indian students to this question can be compared. See footnote 8 for a description of the study of teachers.

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

A major objective in this study was to determine the degree of similarity in the values and preferences of Indian high school students classified by tribal affiliation. In order to achieve that objective, students' responses to questions about values and preferences were tabulated and analyzed according to their respective tribal affiliations.

In general, one would have to conclude that these students differ in their responses by tribal affiliation, however, there are some similarities among some tribes in this study. Crow and Assiniboine students reported a relatively lower liking for sports, and a relatively higher preference for academic subjects such as English and mathematics which are essential prerequisites for post-secondary education. They also tended to have higher educational aspirations and expectations. Thus, to the extent these responses are valid, the average student in these two tribes appears to be more academically oriented than students from other tribes.[18]

Students from the Gros Ventre and Cheyenne tribes appear to have the following similarities. They liked sports most, and tended to have relatively lower educational expectations. They also reported less amicable relationships between themselves and teachers,

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[18] This inference is based on the findings from students' perceptions of future behavior and may not reflect actual future behavior.

especially in the case of Gros Ventre students. Finally, they tended to report similar feelings about the three value-orientation items used to indicate degree of assimilation of some non-Indian values.

Thus, the data, assuming the responses to be accurate reflections of real feelings and reliable predictors of future performance of these students, would support the prediction that Crow students would be most likely, and Cheyenne students least likely to value success and upward mobility in the non-Indian society. Given the findings on value-orientations, this predictive outcome may not be considered a negative outcome for Cheyenne students because the most typical student in these tribes rejected the non-Indian values used in this study. With reference to the assumption of accurate reflections, a common expectation on the part of some social scientists who have studied Indians or Indian culture is that "they" will tell you only what you want to hear. If that were the case for this study, the interviewers in this study certainly had very mixed expectations about the responses of Indian high school students! The data do not support the common sense inference of common responses to identical items or questions by Indian students, i.e., responses varied on many items by tribal affiliation, sex, and class in school, just as responses of Indian college students did in the evening seminar. Thus, the terms "they" and "them" are just as inappropriate in discussing Indian students as they are in dis-

cussing college students, Republicans or Norwegians. It follows that there is "no one best way" to prepare teachers, counselors and administrators to work with Indian students, Rather, their training to work with Indian students or any minority students, if any is used, should include an understanding of the unique ways of each tribe. As one teacher expressed it in the study mentioned in the footnotes, "You cannot learn all about Indian students by reading about them in textbooks or listening to experts on their culture or society; a part of the preparation must come from living and interacting with the members of the tribe."[19] An approach which includes differences between tribes, and differences within tribes, is a more realistic approach to a training program for school personnel. This type of approach would possibly overcome the perceived lack of understanding, and hostile relationships reported by approximately half of the students when they were asked about student-teacher relationships. It might also help to fulfill the expectations of these students that a "good" teacher is one who doesn't categorize students, and understands their feelings and consequently considers them as unique individuals in some ways.

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[19] Those of us who do research on any group of people recognize the uniqueness of individuals, but by necessity must use classification or categorization in summarizing and analyzing the information collected. Yet, it is these very findings which may reinforce the labels of "they" and "them" used to talk about a particular group of people.

An apparent contradiction between findings was that students from tribes with relatively high educational aspirations and expectations reported very low interaction with couselors and teachers about their educational plans, e.g., Crow students. One of the possible reasons for low contact may have been that their educational decisions have been finalized early, but the literature on educational decision-making does not support that inference because low rates of discussion are reported by many researchers. It is possible that an intervention program which is structured in such a way that interaction between students and counselors, within the limits of time available, might be beneficial in cases where aspirations and expectations are very low, as well as in the cases where relatively high aspirations are reported.

The findings from this study reinforce findings from many other studies about the importance of parents in the educational decision-making process. Mothers in particular appear to play a critical role in all tribes with the exception of the Assiniboine and even there she is relatively important. One of the findings from the study on teachers discussed above was the belief of two-thirds of the teachers who said that Indian parents did not show an interest in their students work as opposed to 30 percent of them who said that about non-Indian students. The same findings were reported when teachers were asked about parental pressure on students to do good work in school. Data from that same study also suggest that a

"lack of parental concern about their children's schooling" was a serious problem in the schools in which they taught. Other work conducted by the author indicated that interest and pressure of parents varied with the family income; the higher the income, the higher the pressure and interest.[20] These findings suggest several questions. Is it possible that the perceived lack of interest and pressure that teachers report is really not a lack of interest and concern but a failure to recognize differences in the way Indian and non-Indian parents relate to their children and to their childrens' teachers? Is the low income of the average Indian family, or non-Indian family, a barrier in interaction and communication between teachers and parents? Is it possible that the value of non-interference inferred by students in the seminar inhibits parents from interfering with the education of their children? This research has not answered these questions but perhaps they should be explored by teachers and parents of students, even if such exploration leads to "heated" exchanges.

In conclusion, the findings from this study support the expectations of the students in the seminar and those of the author that there would be differences between the values and preferences of Indian students from different tribes, and that these differences are an important consideration for those engaged in the educational process of teaching Indian students.

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[20] Loc cit, Larson, Bulletin 660